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Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 4th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 21 September 1992, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. ROGERS (Vice-President)	(Belize)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. ROGERS (Vice-President)	(Belize)

- Statement by the President

- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations [111]

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- Opening of the general debate [9]

  Statement made by

  Mr. Lafer (Brazil)

- Address by Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America

- Address by Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of the Republic of Nicaragua

- General debate [9] (continued)

  Statements made by

  Mr. Mock (Austria)
  Mr. Filali (Morocco)

- Statement by the President

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding with the agenda for this morning's meeting, I should like to draw the attention of members to document A/47/456, containing a letter addressed to me by the President of the Security Council, and to document A/47/L.1, containing a draft resolution entitled "Recommendation of the Security Council of 19 September 1992", which are being circulated under agenda item 8, "Adoption of the agenda and organization of work".

In this connection, the General Assembly will take up agenda item 8 tomorrow evening after it has heard the last speaker in the general debate for the day.

AGENDA ITEM 111

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/47/442/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the final version of document A/47/442/Add.1, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General, in which he informs me that Haiti, Liberia, Niger and Sierra Leone have made the necessary payments to reduce their arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of that information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

GENERAL DEBATE

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the general debate, I should like to remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its third plenary meeting, held on 18 September, that congratulations should not be expressed inside the General Assembly Hall itself after a speech has been delivered.

In that connection, may I also remind members of another decision taken by the Assembly at the same meeting, that speakers in the general debate, after delivering their statements, should leave the Assembly Hall through room GA-200, located behind the podium, before returning to their places.

(The President)

I should also like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its third plenary meeting, the list of speakers will be closed on Wednesday, 23 September 1992, at 6 p.m. May I request delegations to be good enough to provide estimated speaking times that are as accurate as possible, so that we can plan our meetings in an orderly way.

Mr. LAFER (Brazil): Let me congratulate you, Sir, and the Republic of Bulgaria upon your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. Your experience as a respected political leader and jurist augurs well for the success of our deliberations.

I wish to acknowledge the work of Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia and his inspired and constructive presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

I present my compliments to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose election was supported by Brazil from the beginning. His experience and statesmanship, which I had the occasion to witness at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, will certainly stand him in good stead in the exercise of his high office.

Brazil welcomes the representatives of the new States Members of the United Nations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. My country wishes to explore the possibilities of cooperation with the new Member States.

The opening of the general debate requires that we should call forth national and regional aspirations without losing sight of our concern for the universal. It requires that we should seek to fulfil our individual identities in a harmonious whole, that should we be both effective and just.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

Historical change should not be viewed as the chaotic workings of nature, which, like a storm, are beyond control. Nor does it bear comparison to a theatrical play whose plot and outcome are known to the author and the performers in advance but which the audience discovers only as the play unfolds. The most pertinent metaphor for understanding the lessons of history would be that of a labyrinth. Conceived of as a labyrinth, history unfolds unpredictably. This, however, does not deny the rational creativity of man and of peoples. Rational creativity lies in identifying by trial and error the blind alleys in the maze of collective experience, while trusting that there are exit points and struggling to reach them.

Today the role of reason in the search for a way out lies in resorting to historical experience to promote those values which may ensure better and higher ways of life in an organized society: freedom, democracy, human rights, sustainable development, justice and peace. In times of change it is important to stop and think about the values and concepts that lie at the foundation of international relations.

The process I have described gives rise both to hopes and to concerns. It reflects the interaction of centripetal forces that tend towards the universal and of centrifugal forces that call attention to diversity. On the one hand, societies are embracing standards and practices that are well on the way to becoming universal, as witnessed by the strengthening of democracy and human rights, of sustainable development and of free enterprise and market integration.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

On the other hand, we witness the rebirth of nationalism and ethnic strife, religious fervour taken to extremes and forms of discrimination which multiply tension and threaten world peace.

The United Nations, and in particular the General Assembly, should serve as the natural point of convergence for the various trends that shape the complexity of our time. That complexity requires building a new international order based on the democratic participation of all States, as stressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization.

In conformity with its commitment to dialogue and cooperation, Brazil wishes to make its contribution to the common task of ensuring the equitable fulfilment of the historical aspirations of mankind. Brazil takes pride in its diplomatic tradition. With 10 neighbours and nearly 17,000 kilometres of borders, all of which were peacefully negotiated, Brazil's destiny is civil and fruitful coexistence with all countries.

The democracy we enjoy today at the domestic level is an assurance of unity and stability. It teaches us to accept the diversity and divergence inherent in a pluralistic society. It permits us to face crises and vicissitudes within the rule of law and the strict boundaries of constitutional order. At the same time, democracy encourages us to uphold its principles and methods in our relations with other nations. In a democracy the rules of the game relate to the sharing and limitation of power. Government must belong to the many, so that it can resist imposition by the few. Power must be constrained by law, so as to avoid the arbitrary discretion of those who wield it.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

The acknowledgement of these rules aims at the qualitative transformation of life in society - the passage from the realm of violence to the realm of non-violence - achievable by the taming of power through law. This is what confers on the law an irrevocable ethical content. In the realm of public international law, this ethical content finds its expression in the peaceful settlement of disputes, since its procedures for choosing among available options for action seek precisely to dispel the fears that derive from the rule of violence. It is in that spirit of democratic civility that Brazil intends to participate in the process of reorganizing the international system.

The unprecedented historical crossroads at which we find ourselves calls for a new agenda, an agenda embodying an awareness of the present and a vision of the future. The drafting of this agenda must take into account all the dimensions of value. All values have to be susceptible of fulfilment and are inexhaustible. To subsist, they must be translated into normative and social reality. However, the fulfilment of values in history does not exhaust their content. For example, we can and may always obtain more freedom and more justice.

The foreign policy of Brazil stresses these twin dimensions in its response to the new international situation and stresses them through a creative adaptation and vision of the future. These concepts, we think, are appropriate as we consider the items on the agenda of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

The starting-point for a rethinking of the international system lies in the acknowledgement that peace, security and disarmament are inseparable.

The suggestions put forward by Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali in his document "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) lend new contours and an enlarged scope to discussions on the role of the United Nations. All Member States should participate in an in-depth consideration of the provocative and creative suggestions put forward by the Secretary-General. Brazil will contribute actively to their consideration at the present session of the General Assembly.

The "Agenda for Peace" comprises timely issues, such as preventive diplomacy, peace-making and post-conflict peace-building. Such innovative concepts are, by their very nature, still fluid. They open up new perspectives which remain to be explored, albeit cautiously, as befits an encounter between unknown realities and bold and imaginative ideas.

The dream of a better world cannot, however, be excluded from the debate. Though realism is the starting-point of all political action, it should not be taken as its final objective. Justice is the ultimate value that should, in the final analysis, permeate the concept of order.

Peace-building is a continuous task and an evolving process. In addition to the concepts related to the means of tackling conflict situations, we should also seek to define the logical corollary of preventive peace-building, namely the forestalling of crises deriving from economic and social factors. To that end, we must strengthen the role of the United Nations, not only in restoring peace and security, but also in fostering economic and social progress.

Other elements should therefore be added to those put forward in the "Agenda for Peace", such as the promotion of a more just international economic

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

environment, full respect for human rights and the rule of law, general and complete disarmament, and the democratization of international relations based on sovereign equality and the non-use of force.

It is essential to avoid the temptation of a selective application of the provisions of the Charter. The instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security must not serve to consolidate imbalances based on power relations, which are not more legitimate because they are real. The fundamental attribute of legitimacy consists in the all-encompassing perspective of humanity.

It is of paramount importance to uphold the provision of the Charter whereby the maintenance of international peace and security is the collective responsibility of all Member States.

In carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council acts on behalf of all Member States of the United Nations. Now that the Council is being called upon to play an increasingly decisive role, there is a clear need for an in-depth discussion of the representative nature of its composition, the scope of its competence and the powers of its members.

We should consider, with prudence no less than with foresight, such readjustments as would permit the Council to discharge its functions in a more representative manner. Brazil is prepared to contribute constructively to this effort, taking fully into account the institutional balance among the organs of the United Nations provided for in the San Francisco Charter.

The contribution of Brazil to United Nations peace-keeping operations reflects our commitment to implementing the principle of collective responsibility.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

The issue of disarmament has been momentarily overshadowed by that of security in the wake of the unstable situations which followed the collapse of global confrontation. The progressive reduction of arms stockpiles, especially of weapons of mass destruction, remains, however, fundamental.

Much has indeed been accomplished in the field of disarmament, yet much remains to be done.

Brazil and Argentina have jointly entered into an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency on the application of safeguards. With Argentina and Chile, we launched an initiative to ensure the full entry into force of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America - the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The entry into force of the Treaty of Tlatelolco will make Latin America the first nuclear-weapon-free zone in the world. This represents a balanced agreement on non-proliferation with equality of rights and obligations. We have banned chemical and biological weapons from our territory through the Mendoza Agreement, which we concluded with our neighbouring States. We have thus advanced the application of the convention on chemical weapons, which sets down uniform rules of disarmament and verification binding on all signatories. We hope similarly universal and non-discriminatory disarmament conventions will be concluded in the future.

Regarding the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic, we welcome the opportunity to work with our partners on both sides of the ocean in a process of dialogue and joint endeavour aimed in particular at the protection of the marine environment.

Security and disarmament are only means to achieve the highest goal to which mankind truly aspires - the goal of peace. Peace, not as the mere absence of war, but as an affimative value, peace as a state of satisfaction

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

in which relations among States can be ruled by law and disputes settled by peaceful means.

Peace must be linked to cooperation, of which justice is an integral part, for common interests are rooted in a balanced relation among States.

It is widely acknowledged that there is a close link between the democratic system of government and the inclination of States towards peace, and conversely, a link between authoritarian regimes and a greater propensity to conflict. The values inherent in democracy - pluralism, majority rule, tolerance, consensus, the rule of law - extend naturally to the external affairs of the State. The strengthening of democracy on a planetary scale represents therefore a decisive contribution to the building of a more peaceful international system.

An unquestionable value in the domestic order, democracy also projects itself as an organizing principle of the international order, through the strengthening of multilateral diplomacy and the search for a broad participation in the international decision-making process.

Brazil is convinced that relations among States must be governed predominantly by incentives to cooperation and not by disincentives. That amounts to promoting a positive and not a negative agenda for international relations, an agenda that must be negotiated in a democratic manner.

The improvement of international cooperation to ensure adequate and effective treatment of world-wide issues, such as those of humanitarian, developmental or environmental character, is to be pursued within the basic principles of international law, foremost among which is respect for State sovereignty.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

Fortunately, a new perception has evolved in the field of human rights that focuses on the need for special protection for the most vulnerable groups in each country. Cultural, religious and ethnic minorities, women, children, refugees and immigrants are social groups frequently exposed to intolerance and to the abuse of their most basic rights.*

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* Mr. Rogers (Belize), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

We must strive to bridge the gap between what is achievable and what is desirable. Respect for human rights must be universal in scope, just as the 1948 Declaration is universal and just as the provisions of the basic covenants and conventions on this matter are universal. In short, human rights must not be violated under any pretext whatsoever.

The full enjoyment of individual rights requires material conditions of social and economic organization grounded in the idea of justice. The holding in 1993 of the World Conference on Human Rights, as well as the proposed world summit on social development, will provide opportunities to strengthen the protection and the promotion of human dignity.

The Government of Brazil is doing everything in its power to protect and promote human rights. We maintain an open dialogue with international organizations - governmental and non-governmental - and we have acceded to the main legal instruments on this matter. To be assured of success in our endeavours, we further need constructive international cooperation to address better the perverse consequences of extreme poverty and to equip democratic States with conditions to reinforce their preventive and corrective actions in these areas, where serious violations of individual rights still occur.

One of the most urgent tasks of the United Nations will be to promote in all countries a strong campaign against all forms of discrimination. It is high time we reaffirmed the classic concept of tolerance as an essential constituent element of life in an enlightened society. Equality can be genuine only when there is respect for diversity, where there is respect for heterogeneity. Policies of racial segregation, by any name, will always be hateful. The idea that a nation or a social group is somehow superior because it is ethnically homogeneous is flatly wrong.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

The world has not lived through the horrors of a world war, the anguish of 45 years of the cold war and the hardship of conflicts that have offended the conscience of mankind to witness now the resurgence of the spectre of xenophobia, of exclusive nationalism, or of ethnic, cultural or religious intolerance. We cannot allow the concept of nationhood to serve as a cloak for the practices of oppression. Brazil, as a multiracial country proud of its roots, rejects outright attitudes that are inimical to the human race. Just as our societies cannot coexist with the marginalization of parts of their population, so the new international society we seek to build cannot coexist with the marginalization of entire peoples.

The interdependence of the world economy paradoxically highlights the shortcomings of global cooperation. The gap between the North and the South is widening before our eyes. This situation cannot persist. We must work together to foster economic growth in all countries. There will be no peace or security so long as such disparities continue to distort the international system.

In an increasingly open and interdependent international community, the leverage from international trade is extraordinary. We must therefore prevent protectionist pressures linked to short-term parcchial interests from undercutting the negotiating effort of the Uruguay Round, inspired by free competition and the multiplication of benefits. The difficulties and sluggishness inherent in the process of multilateral-trade liberalization should not prompt us to opt indiscriminately for self-contained regional blocks. We see, and would like others to see, regional-trade liberalization as a form of creating additional opportunities for international trade as a whole, without inflicting losses on third parties. This is how we view the

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUL), the regional basis for our competitive integration in the international economy.

Brazil is a global trader. We trade with all regions of the world and we are modernizing our economy through trade liberalization and openness towards the world economy. Negotiations with foreign creditors have produced positive results. Science and technology today represent the crucial variable of economic success. Promoting their dissemination and ensuring greater transparency and equity in the access to knowledge is fundamental for development. That is the spirit that guides the Brazilian initiative now under consideration in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, aiming at the definition of non-discriminatory and universally acceptable principles to regulate international transfers of sensitive technologies for peaceful purposes.

Last June Brazil hosted the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which was the largest diplomatic event in the history of the Organization and set new patterns of international understanding and cooperation. We worked creatively to face the challenges of the present and boldly in the preparations for the future. The Rio Conference was not aimed at simply reorganizing this or that aspect of economic activity or of life in society. It was aimed, rather, at reshaping the very notion of development, to conceive it on a more rational, more just and more generous foundation - that of sustainable development.

The Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, the Declaration on Forests, the climate Convention and the biodiversity Convention outline a legal framework and a political project of paramount importance for international cooperation. The significance of these instruments will be even more evident over time.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

Adherence to the principles that have been agreed upon and prompt ratification of the two Conventions will usher in a new era of international cooperation.

The Rio Conference set up a new paradigm, a new social contract, on the basis of the fundamental concept of sustainable development. It established as a primary concern the need to ensure the most rational balance between legitimate development goals, on the one side, and the preservation of the health of our planet and the well-being of future generations, on the other. Sustainable development is the contemporary expression of progress. It is the basis for a new international environment and development order.

In welcoming the Heads of State and Government who honoured us with their presence, President Fernando Collor stated that

> "The world has decided to assemble here to address no more, no less than the life itself on the surface of the planet."

The Conference concluded that we cannot allow the persistence of social imbalances in the current international system marked by inhuman situations of poverty and by the coexistence of want and waste. As stated by the Brazilian Head of State, as President of the Conference,

> "We cannot have an environmentally sound planet in a socially unjust world".

The Rio Conference therefore fostered an awareness of the fact that development must be sustainable. Sustainability requires due attention not only to environmental but also to economic and social factors.

That and all the other achievements of the Conference were made possible thanks only to the unprecedented engagement of the community of nations at the highest level, allowing for the consideration of problems of universal interest through the equal participation of all countries. Let me stress this point: The Rio Conference was exemplary in that it brought to a higher level

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

the practice of democracy in international relations, thus strengthening multilateral diplomacy. At the Conference, all countries - large and small, rich and poor - gave proof that they were and are capable of linking their own specific interests with larger, more general interests.

This is the "spirit of Rio", which we hope will guide the United Nations in other areas as well: mutual confidence among States, a willingness to act decisively with a view to achieving common goals, and the grandeur of joint endeavours in devising forms of enhanced cooperation in line with norms defined democratically and on the basis of consensus.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

This session of the General Assembly is called upon to address the task of taking the first steps in implementing the conclusions of the Conference and in honouring the commitments entered into at Rio. We therefore attribute great importance to the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development. Sustainable development requires new and additional financial resources on an adequate and predictable basis, as reflected in chapter 33 of Agenda 21. We expect that, at the present session, the developed countries will announce initial plans to give effect to the goals of the Conference.

Equally crucial is the availability of technology to developing countries, so as to ensure the feasibility of established programmes. Action or follow-up measures are also necessary in other areas; among these I stress the development of small island States and the convening of a negotiating committee on desertification.

Brazil wishes to make an additional contribution to the accomplishments of the Rio Conference by offering to host an international centre for studies on sustainable development. We count on public and private support for this initiative, which was welcomed in a resolution adopted at the Conference and for the implementation of which we have already laid the groundwork. As an academic institution, the centre will provide an international research and exchange forum for the application of decisions adopted at Rio.

When I spoke about the dichotomy between the real and the ideal necessary for the construction of a new order, I referred to the great opportunities for cooperation among nations to solve problems in the areas of peace and security, democracy, human rights, development and environment. The world expects the work of the Organization to be concentrated on those priority areas.

(Mr. Lafer, Brazil)

The capacity for joint action by the United Nations must spring from the voice of each and every Member State. That action becomes all the more legitimate as the basic decision-making process grows more representative and more democratic.

Brazil views the ongoing work on the restructuring and revitalization of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations as eminently relevant. It should lead to greater efficiency, together with a wider scope for international cooperation for development.

An agenda for peace cannot overlook the agenda for development. Ultimate success in this enterprise requires a realistic willingness to endow the United Nations with the necessary instruments and the prospective vision to make this universal forum the core of collective efforts for the improvement of relations among peoples and countries.

In Brazil, as elsewhere in Latin America and other regions, bold and necessary reforms have been set in motion to eliminate obstacles to development, to economic competitiveness, to technological progress and to the free exercise of innovation and entrepreneurship based on the market.

Brazil joins other nations with an open mind, aware of the need for creative adaptation to new realities and convinced that new challenges require a vision of the future endowed with generosity.

The meeting was suspended at 10.40 a.m. and resumed at 11 a.m.*

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the United States of America.

Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the United States of America, His Excellency Mr. George Bush, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President BUSH: Forty-seven years ago I was a young man of 21, and, like thousands of others of my generation, I had gone off to war to help keep freedom alive. Forty-seven years ago this month the war was finally over, and I was looking forward to peace and the chance to begin my life in earnest: 1945 marked a moment of promise, not just for me, but for all of mankind. A great struggle against dictatorship had been fought and won. Across the globe, we all looked forward to a future free of war, a world where we might raise our children in peace and freedom, and this institution, the United Nations, born amidst the ashes of war, embodied those hopes and dreams like no other.

But the hopes and dreams of 1945 remained unfulfilled: communist imperialism divided the world in two, our hopes for peace and our dreams of freedom were frozen in the grip of cold war, and, instead of finding a common ground, we found ourselves at Ground Zero. Instead of living on Churchill's

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(President Bush)

"broad, sunlit uplands", millions found that there was, as Arthur Koestler so chillingly wrote, "Darkness at Noon". Instead of uniting the nations, this body became a forum for distrust and division among nations and, in a cruel irony, the United Nations, created to free the world of conflict, itself became conflict's captive.

I too lived through those disputes; I sat where you sit, proudly so; I served in this Assembly and I saw, in my time, the consequences of the cold war's hot words on the higher missions of the United Nations. Now, 47 years later, we stand at the end of another war, the cold war, and our hopes and dreams have awakened again. Driven by its own internal contradictions and banished by the peoples' undying thirst for freedom, imperial communism has collapsed in its birthplace, and today Russia has awakened democratic, independent and free; the Baltic States are free; and so too are Ukraine, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and the other independent States joining the nations of Central and Eastern Europe in freedom.

The fear of nuclear Armageddon between the super-Powers has vanished, and we are proud to have done our part to ensure that our schoolchildren do not have to practise hiding under their desks for fear of nuclear attack, as the generation before them did. I am proud also to salute the courageous leaders with nuclear responsibilities - Presidents Yeltsin, Kravchuk, Nazarbayev, Shushkevich - who joined me in ending the super-Power stand-off that risked nuclear nightmare. This is the first General Assembly session to seat you as truly independent and free nations, and to you and the leaders of the other independent States, I say welcome home: we are now truly united nations.

(President Bush)

With the cold war's end, I believe we have a unique opportunity to go beyond artificial divisions of a first, second and third world to forge instead a genuine, global community of free and sovereign nations, a community built on respect for principle, on peaceful settlement of disputes, on fundamental human rights and on the twin pillars of freedom: democracy and free markets. Already, the United Nations, especially the Security Council, has done much to fulfil its original mission and to build this global community.

United Nations leadership has been critical in resolving conflicts and brokering peace the entire world over, but securing democracy and securing the peace in the century ahead will be no simple task. Imperial communism may have been vanquished, but that does not end the challenges of our age, challenges that must be overcome if we are finally to end the divisions between East and West, North and South, that fuel strife and strain and conflict and war.

As we support the historic growth of democracy around the world, I believe the community of nations and the United Nations face three critical, interrelated challenges as we enter the twenty-first century.

First, we face the political challenge of keeping today's peace and preventing tomorrow's wars. As we see daily in Bosnia, Somalia and Cambodia, everywhere conflict claims innocent lives; the need for enhanced peace-keeping capabilities has never been greater; the conflicts we must deal with have never been more intractable, the costs of conflict higher.

Second, we face the strategic challenge of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, truly the fastest growing security challenge to international peace and order.

(President Bush)

Third, we face the common economic challenge of promoting prosperity for all, of strengthening an open, growth-oriented, free-market international economic order while safeguarding the environment.

Meeting these challenges will require us to strengthen our collective engagement; it will require us to transform our collective institutions; and, above all, it will require that each of us look seriously at our own Government and how we conduct our international affairs. We too must change our institutions and our practices if we are to make a new world of the promises of today, if we are to secure a twenty-first century peace.

(President Bush)

With you today I would like to discuss these three challenges: peace-keeping, proliferation and prosperity. And I should like to use this opportunity to begin to sketch how I believe the international community can work together to meet these three challenges and how the United States is changing its institutions and policies to catalsze this effort.

Let me begin with peace-keeping. The United Nations has a long and distinguished history of peace-keeping and humanitarian relief. From Cyprus and Lebanon, to Cambodia and Croatia, the blue beret has become a symbol of hope amid all that hostility. And the United Nations has long played a central role in preventing conflicts from turning into wars, and strengthening peace-keeping capabilities can help buttress these diplomatic efforts. But, as much as the United Nations has done, it can do much more.

Peace-keepers are stretched to the limit while the demands for their services increase by the day. The need for monitoring and preventive peace-keeping - putting people on the ground before the fighting starts - may become especially critical in volatile regions. This is especially the case because of the rapid and turbulent change that continues to shake Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Across the lands that once were imprisoned behind an iron curtain, peoples are reasserting their historical identities that were frozen in communism's catacomb.

Where this is taking place in a democratic manner with tolerance and civility and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, this new democratic nationalism is all to the good. But, unfortunately, we need only look to the bloody battles raging in places such as the former Yugoslavia to see the dangers of ethnic violence. This is the greatest threat to the democratic peace we hope to build with Eastern Europe, with Russia and

(President Bush)

Eurasia, even more than economic deprivation. We fully support the efforts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Western European Union (WEU), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and other competent regional organizations to develop peace-keeping capabilities.

We are convinced, however, that enhanced United Nations capabilities are a necessary complement to these regional efforts, not just in Europe and Eurasia, but across the globe.

I welcome the Secretary-General's call for a new agenda to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts across the globe. Today I call upon all Members to join me in taking bold steps to advance that agenda. I will therefore be discussing with my colleagues the merits of a special meeting of the Security Council to discuss the Secretary-General's proposals and to develop concrete responses in five key areas.

First, robust peace-keeping requires men and equipment that only Member States can provide. Nations should develop and train military units for possible peace-keeping operations and humanitarian relief and these forces must be available on short notice at the request of the Security Council and with the approval, of course, of the Governments providing it.

Secondly, if multinational units are to work together, they must train together. Many nations - for example, Fiji, Norway, Canada and Finland - have a long history of peace-keeping and we can all tap into that experience as we train for expanded operations. Effective multinational action will also require coordinated command and control and inter-operability of both equipment and communications. Multinational planning, training, field

(President Bush)

exercises will be needed. Those efforts should link up with regional organizations.

Thirdly, we also need to provide adequate logistical support for peace-keeping and humanitarian operations. Member States should designate stockpiles of resources necessary to meet humanitarian emergencies, including famines, floods and civil disturbances. This will save valuable time in a crisis.

Fourthly, we will need to develop planning, crisis management and intelligence capabilities for peace-keeping and humanitarian operations.

Fifthly, we must ensure adequate equitable financing for United Nations and associated peace-keeping efforts.

As I said, we must change our national institutions if we are to change our international relations. So let me assure you that the United States is ready to do its part to strengthen world peace by strengthening international peace-keeping.

For decades, the American military has served as a stabilizing presence around the globe. And I want to draw on our extensive experience in winning wars, in keeping the peace, to support United Nations peace-keeping. I have directed the United States Secretary of Defense to place a new emphasis on peace-keeping. Because of peace-keeping's growing importance as a mission for the United States military, we will emphasize training of combat, engineering and logistical units for the full range of peace-keeping and humanitarian activities and we will work with the United Nations to best employ our considerable lift, logistics, communications and intelligence capabilities to support peace-keeping operations. And we will offer our capabilities for joint simulations and exercises to strengthen our ability to undertake joint peace-keeping operations.

(President Bush)

There is room for all countries, large and small, and I hope all will play a part.

Member States, as always, must retain the final decision on the use of their troops, of course. But we must develop our ability to coordinate peace-keeping efforts so that we can mobilize quickly when a threat to peace arises or when people in need look to the world for help.

I have further directed the establishment of a permanent peace-keeping curriculum in United States military schools. Training, plainly, is a key element. The United States is prepared to make available our bases and facilities for multinational training and field exercises. One such base, nearby, with facilities is Fort Dix. America used these bases to win the cold war and today, with that war over, they can help build a lasting peace.

The United States is willing to provide our military expertise to the United Nations to help the United Nations strengthen its planning and operations for peace-keeping, and we will also broaden American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance and other requirements of United Nations peace-keeping or humanitarian assistance operations.

And, finally, the United States will review how we fund peace-keeping and explore new ways to ensure adequate American financial support for United Nations peace-keeping and United Nations humanitarian activities. I do believe that we must think differently about how we ensure and pay for our security in this new era.

While the cold war may have ended, the super-Power nuclear arms competition, regional competition, weapons of mass destruction continue. Over 20 countries have, or are developing, nuclear, chemical or biological weapons

(President Bush)

and the means to deliver them. At a time when the United States and its former adversaries are engaged in deep, historic cuts in our nuclear arsenals, our children and grandchildren will never forgive us if we allow new and unstable nuclear stand-offs to develop around the world.

(President Bush)

We believe the Security Council should become a key forum for non-proliferation enforcement. The Security Council should make clear its intention to stem proliferation and sanction proliferators. Reaffirming asssurances made at the time the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was negotiated, I propose that the Security Council reassure the non-nuclear States that it will seek immediate action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the non-proliferation Treaty that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of threat of aggression involving nuclear weapons.

I also call for the indefinite renewal of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty when it is reviewed in 1995. I believe we must explore ways we can strengthen linkages between the suppliers "clubs", the nuclear-suppliers group, the Australia Group, the missile-technology control regime and United Nations specialized agencies.

Here I would like to note the productive efforts of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to dismantle the Iraqi weapons-of-mass-destruction programme, and the continuing good work of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). But as the United Nations organizations adapt to stop proliferation, so too must every Member State change its structures to advance our non-proliferation goals.

In that spirit I want today to announce my intention to work with the United States Congress to redirect the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) to refocus its talents on providing technical support for non-proliferation, weapons monitoring and destruction, and global defence conversion. Under the direction of the Secretary of State, ACDA

(President Bush)

should be used not only in completing the traditional arms-control agenda but, just as importantly, in providing technical assistance on our new security agenda.

Even as we work to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, we must be realistic and guard ourselves against proliferation that is already taking place. Therefore, we are working towards a cooperative system for defence against limited ballistic missile attacks. We fully intend to have other nations participate in this global protection system.

While expanded peace-keeping capabilities and improved non-proliferation efforts will be critical for building an enduring peace, shared economic growth is the long-term foundation for a brighter future well into the next century. That is why I stated yesterday, during a moment of international uncertainty, that the United States would be strongly engaged with its global partners in building a global economic, financial and trading structure for this new era.

At the same time, I urged that our global responsibilities lead us to examine ways to strengthen the Group of Seven (G-7) coordination process, and I affirmed America's support for a European integration that opens markets and enhances Europe's capability to be our partner in the great challenges that we face in this new era. While the exact form of integration is, of course, for Europeans to determine, we will stand by them.

Economic growth is not a zero-sum process. All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investment that comes from a vibrant, growing world economy. To ensure that the benefits of this growth are sustained and shared by all, fair and open competition should be the fuel for the global economic

(President Bush)

engine. That is why the United States wants to complete the Uruguay Round of the negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as soon as possible, and to create a network of free-trade agreements, beginning with the North American Free Trade Agreement.

At the same time, we need to recognize that we have a shared responsibility to foster and support the free-market reforms necessary to build growing economies and vibrant democracies in the developing world and in the new democratic States. This should be done by promoting the private sector to build these new economies, not by fostering dependency with traditional Government-to-Government foreign aid.

After the Second World War, foreign assistance often served as a weapon in the cold war. Obviously, we will still use critical foreign-assistance funds to meet legitimate security needs. And, as our humanitarian operations in Somalia and northern Iraq, Bosnia and the former Soviet Union will testify, we will continue our robust humanitarian assistance efforts to help those suffering from man-made and natural disasters.

But foreign aid as we have known it needs to be transformed. The notion of the handout to less developed countries needs to give way to cooperation and mutually productive economic relationships. We know this: the more a nation relies on the private sector and free markets, the higher its rate of growth; the more open to trade it is, the higher its rate of growth; and the better a country's investment climate, the higher its rate of growth.

To move from what I would call aid-dependency to economic partnership, we propose to alter fundamentally the focus of United States assistance programmes to building strong, independent economies that can become

(President Bush)

contributors to a healthy, growing global economy. That means that our new emphasis should be on building economic partnerships among our private sectors that will promote prosperity at home, and abroad also. Working with our Congress I will propose a top-to-bottom overhaul of our institutions that plan and administer foreign assistance, drastically reducing the bureaucracy that has built up around Government-based programmes, streamlining our delivery systems and strengthening support for private-sector development and economic reform.

The Agency for International Development (AID), another institution born during the cold war, needs to be fundamentally and radically overhauled. Promoting economic security, opportunity and competitiveness will become a primary mission of the State Department. Our assistance efforts should not be charity. On the contrary, they should promote mutual prosperity. Therefore, using existing foreign-affairs resources, I will propose creating a $1 billion growth fund. The fund will provide grants and credits to support United States businesses in providing expertise, goods and services desperately needed in countries undertaking economic restructuring.

I will also support significantly increasing the programmes of the Export-Import Bank to ensure that United States products and technology promote investment in world-wide economic growth.

The United States will work with its global partners, especially the G-7 nations, to enhance global growth at this key point in world history, as we end one era and begin another.

None of us can afford insular policies. Each of us must contribute, through greater coordinated action, to building a stronger world economy.

(President Bush)

I realize that what I have outlined today is an ambitious agenda. But we live in remarkable times: times when empires collapse, ideologies dissolve and walls crumble; times when change can come so fast that we sometimes forget how far and how fast we have progressed in achieving our hopes for a global community of democratic nations.

(President Bush)

And in the face of today's changes, with the loss of so much that was familiar and predictable, there is now a great temptation for people everywhere to turn inward and to build walls around themselves - walls against trade, walls against people, walls against ideas and investment, walls against anything at all that appears new and different.

As the Berlin Wall fell, these walls too must fall. They must fall because we cannot separate our fate from that of others. Our peace is so interconnected, our security so intertwined, our prosperity so interdependent, that to turn inward and retreat from the world is to invite disaster and defeat.

At the threshold of a new century we can truly say a more peaceful, more secure, more prosperous future beckons to us. For the sake of our children and our grandchildren, for the sake of those who perished during the cold war and for the sake of every man, woman and child who kept freedom's flame alive even during the darkest noon, let us pledge ourselves to make that future real, and let us pledge ourselves to fulfil the promise of a truly United Nations.

Thank you and may God bless you all.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United States of America for the statement he has just made.

Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MRS. VIOLETA BARRIOS DE CHAMORRO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of the Republic of Nicaragua, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Nicaragua, Her Excellency Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, and to invite her to address the Assembly.

President BARRIOS DE CHAMORRO (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to preside over this session of the General Assembly.

I am also pleased to welcome the new countries that have joined the United Nations and to pledge to them the friendship and cooperation of Nicaragua.

Nearly 50 years since the San Francisco Charter was signed there exists a new world order similar in importance to, but very different from, that which gave birth to the United Nations Charter. The walls of intolerance are crumbling and the pillars of apartheid are beginning to give way. New democracies have arisen on the ruins of dictatorships. The era of confrontation between the super-Powers has come to an end, and most of the nations of the world are now working for peace. We are building a new world order in which equity, solidarity and the rule of international law must be promoted.

This transition towards a new world order, although positive, is not without danger. Major contradictions have arisen. The expectation that the

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

improvement of relations between East and West would yield a "peace dividend" has not yet been realized.

There is an urgent need to forge a consensus on a world-wide commitment to strengthen international cooperation and reactivate economic growth and development. The efforts of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization to promote growth and development continue to be hindered by restricted access to new markets, scarce financial resources, lack of foreign investment, the debt burden, limitations on the transfer of technology and the ongoing inequality in the financial systems and international trade.

The coffee situation, brought about by an abrupt decline in prices, deserves renewed efforts in the negotiations for a new Agreement in the International Coffee Organization. As regards bananas, we would like to see a free market, without protectionist barriers, that takes duly into account the economic and commercial realities of the Latin American countries.

An alarming number of people are still suffering the tragic consequences of armed conflict, and poverty continues to stifle hopes for a better future. Millions of children do not have access to health care or education. Millions of women, who constitute the majority of the world's population, remain oppressed. Our Organization can become a more important mechanism for promoting economic and social development by implementing the primary strategies that have been worked out and agreed upon by its members.

The restructuring of the United Nations in the economic and social fields is of particular importance to Nicaragua. We want the purposes that have been set forth to become realities. We support the actions of the Secretary-General to bring about improved coordination of the various components of the system by establishing a presence in countries based on an integrated and unified approach. We also support the reforms within the

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

Secretariat itself and the functioning of the new Department of Economic and Social Development. Nicaragua also supports the strengthening of the Economic and Social Council.

The yearning of peoples for freedom, justice and respect for the dignity and worth of the individual is stronger than evil or tyranny. Nothing can prevent peoples from freeing themselves from political oppression or the culture of violence.

Two years ago I referred here to the main challenges that my Government had set for itself in bringing peace to my country, building democracy and fighting inflation. Today I can say that we have succeeded.

In the elections of 25 February 1990 Nicaraguans established a patriotic alliance based on peace, reconciliation, freedom, progress and justice. As an important initial step in the building of a democratic and free society, we brought peace to the country after many years of civil war. Once the 24,000 men of the Nicaraguan resistance had been disarmed we began the general plan for reducing the size of the army. When I came to the General Assembly in 1990 I said that we had reduced the army from 96,000 men to 34,000. Today our army is made up of only 17,000 men.

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

I feel that the dream of a Central America where the sound of hands at work for ever takes the place of the sound of gunfire is coming closer. We have established disarmament brigades throughout the country and are promoting the national plan to collect, in stages, weapons in civilian hands. This effort has produced highly satisfactory results, and the people of Nicaragua themselves have witnessed the destruction and burial of nearly 50,000 weapons of war, which has reduced the probability of armed conflicts and confrontations.

In 1991, thanks to the effort made by our people, we laid the foundations for economic recovery in Nicaragua by putting an end to hyperinflation, which had reached nearly 55,000 per cent; today, the inflation rate is down to zero.

We have begun the transition from totalitarianism to civilian democracy, from a centralized economy to a social, market economy. We have guaranteed freedom of expression, there are many more communications media, and there is complete freedom of thought and religion.

We have also strengthened the freedom of asscciation. There is a clear separation of the powers of the State, and we have the first legislative assembly in Nicaragua's history; 16 political parties are represented in the assembly following the first free elections since our independence 171 years ago.

I should also like to emphasize the fact that, as a result of our striving to come closer together, we have been able to develop, with great success, the economic stabilization and adjustment programme. The budget has been balanced, military expenditure have been drastically cut, wages have been stabilized, privatization is moving forward with the support and participation of the workers, and new banks and private financial institutions have begun to operate in my country.

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

Thanks to the progress made in our economic programme, and with support from the provisions made by this Assembly in 1990 and 1992, it has been possible to ensure special treatment from the international community. We have had 75 per cent of our debt to the Paris Club forgiven, and new international credits are being made available to Nicaragua.

Now we must take the next step: to reactivate the economy of the country and promote development within the framework of increasingly strengthening public order and the State of Law, which, together with attention to social problems, is at the focus of our immediate aims.

We have come to this forum to speak of the urgent need for special and total cooperation from the United Nations system in the social and economic reconstruction of Nicaragua. Once peace and economic stability reign we must tackle the aftermath of the war and the root causes of that war, the problems of unemployment and also the reincorporation of displaced and repatriated persons into the social and economic life of the country. We ask for the international community's support for this United Nations programme, particularly because our situation has been made worse this year by terrible natural disasters such as the eruption of the Cerro Negro volcano and the recent tsunami.

The chances for reinforcing stability and promoting reconciliation and economic grown in our country are better than they were when I began my term in office. For the first time, we are the major players in championing our own freedom and bringing about our own changes through dedicating ourselves to the task of national reconstruction, the common cause of the Nicaraguan nation. The present democratic process in Nicaragua is in keeping with the legitimate interests and the deeply-held convictions of our people, and is in tune with the spirit of the changes taking place throughout the world.

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

The major achievements of the last two years have been made possible, first, by the determined efforts of the Nicaraguan people, who have summoned the determination to tackle the vicissitudes of history, and secondly, by the support and solidarity of the international community, whose friendly cooperation has supported the Nicaraguan people's own efforts. I wish to avail myself of this world forum to offer profound thanks to the peoples and governments which have helped us, and to the international financial bodies, including the Interamerican Development Bank, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. I offer them all the sincere gratitude of the people and Government of Nicaragua.

International cooperation is indispensable if Nicaragua is to consolidate and build on the progress that has been made. If assistance to Nicaragua is suspended, or, even worse, if the undertakings made by the international community at the meetings of the consultative group organized by the World Bank are not fulfilled, the land we have been cultivating with so many sacrifices will go back to being barren, fertile ground only for intolerance, confrontation and totalitarianism. We must not allow that to happen.

Two years ago, in this very forum, I said that my dream was for a demilitarized Central America. We have therefore worked tirelessly to promote regional negotiations with a view to reducing weapons and troop numbers in Central America to the lowest possible level.

I also talked about my dream of a unified Central America. Today, our countries are speaking with one voice and are negotiating free trade agreements with other regional blocs. Our process of integration has taken on strength and vigour in all areas. The ideal of a strong and united Central America is coming ever closer. With every passing day, I see that reality and

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

our dreams can come closer together when there is the will and the determination. I firmly believe that Central America has taken the historic and irrevocable decision to move forward, as a region, along the path of peace, freedom, democracy and development.

We in Nicaragua are concerned at how fragile democracy is in the developing countries. Very many of them have chosen the path of democracy; some, like Nicaragua, have made significant progress in the midst of a difficult transition. All of them, though, could benefit even more from resolute international support in favour of democracy. We have the impression that the international community has not yet fully realized what is at stake in some of these countries. Freedom is still extremely fragile there, and economic and social democracy is a distant dream. The case of Haiti is a reflection of the concerns and sufferings of Latin America.

Generally speaking, the new democracies lack democratic institutions and traditions; the economic elements that promote change are scarce; violence has not yet fully died out and intolerance and hatred still reign. In the nascent democracies, the new political systems must be bolstered in the midst of high levels of extreme poverty, the legacy of the foreign debt burden, the impact of stringent economic adjustments, the benefits of which will be felt only over the long term. These are serious constraints on efforts to get the economy off the ground and to promote growth, and extra efforts must be made on top of what is normal for developing countries.

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

With suitable international cooperation that complements internal efforts and respects the sovereignty of our nations, and with the establishment of modern, flexible democratic systems, we will attain the noble objectives we have set for ourselves.

With the end of the war and the emergence of peace, we have begun to lay the foundations of a sovereign, non-aligned, independent foreign policy of international reconciliation, which will make it possible for us to establish diplomatic relations with all the nations of the world. Its basic tenets offer an excellent opportunity to develop further our own democratic process and support that of fraternal countries.

It is our hope that meaningful commitments can be achieved among the members of the international community during the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, the Conference on Population and Development in 1994 and at the World Summit for Social Development, which will be held in 1995.

The end of the cold war has given the United Nations the best opportunity in its history to play to the full its important role in the international system of collective security.

Peace-keeping operations in their various forms and the participation of the Organization in the resolution of conflicts should be strengthened.

With the onset of peace in El Salvador this year and the strengthening of our own process in Nicaragua, Central America has ceased to be a zone of armed conflict affecting international security. We welcome the great efforts towards understanding being made in Guatemala and we call on the international community to continue providing its valuable cooperation in the commitments we Central Americans have undertaken with our own peoples.

In the Middle East it is urgent that a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation of the Palestinian people be found. It is our hope

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

that the talks will continue and that concrete results will be achieved that will contribute to better dialogue and a definitive peace agreement.

We condemn the serious situations existing in Somalia, Bonia and Herzegovina and Iraq.

In the case of Iraq, we advocate full compliance with the Organization's decisions, with regard to their humanitarian aspects and with the human rights of the civilian population.

In connection with the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the cessation of hostilities, the provision of humanitarian assistance and free access to the International Committee of the Red Cross and other organizations providing medical and humanitarian assistance are universal demands that should be met immediately.

Conditions in Somalia call for stronger action on the part of the Organization. The world's conscience cannot tolerate situations like those we are witnessing there.

Nicaragua has offered to take part in any humanitarian-assistance or peace-keeping operation in Somalia, and we are also willing to be a part of any other effort to relieve the tragedy of that beloved people.

We are following with interest the situation in South Africa. We hope that soon its sons and daughters, united, will devote themselves to the task of national reconstruction in democracy and freedom.

I should also like to mention the situation of a nation of 21 million inhabitants which today has one of the most vigorous economies in the international system. It is time we acknowledged the important efforts made by that nation in the economic, political and social fields. I speak of the Republic of China in Taiwan.

(President Barrios de Chamorro)

In conclusion, I wish to say that Nicaragua has faith in the United Nations. We are sure that its reorganization will make it stronger and will make further effective changes in its operation. Members may be sure that the United Nations community will always have Nicaragua by its side.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Nicaragua for the statement she has just made.

Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of the Republic of Nicaragua, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MOCK (Austria) (interpretation from French): Let me start by offering you, Mr. President, my congratulations and best wishes. With your election an outstanding representative of the new democracies in Eastern Europe has been chosen to preside over this Assembly. I should also like to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Shihabi of Saudi Arabia.

I wish to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General. His report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" contains timely suggestions for a world in which the very nature of conflicts has changed and which therefore has outgrown the traditional means of conflict management. Austria supports the Secretary-General in his quest to develop better instruments for the United Nations to discharge its ever-growing world-wide responsibilities to prevent and resolve conflicts.

Many of the Secretary-General's proposals reflect the need for more efficient conflict prevention. In the case of the former Yugoslavia we have seen the devastating effects of doing too little too late. Let me recall Austria's proposal last year to dispatch peace-keeping forces to Bosnia and

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Herzegovina when there was still a peace to keep. Always, be it in Somalia, the Balkans or elsewhere, time-lags between the appearance of the first signs of a crisis and resolute decisions for preventive action prove to be costly - in human lives, in destruction of property and in the loss of credibility of the international community.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Peace-keeping operations must go beyond the mere observation of a cease-fire. In order to meet today's challenges, peace-keeping has to play a major role in conflict-prevention. Therefore, we support the Secretary-General's proposal envisaging the deployment of observers at the request of only one party to a conflict.

Preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping operations, peace-making and peace-building will increasingly be among the main tasks of this Organization. Inter-ethnic strife will, unfortunately, continue to be the source of many conflicts in the future. We must all combine our efforts to improve the Secretariat's capacity to deal effectively with these challenges.

The demands on the United Nations for peace-keeping and peace-building are increasing in numbers of operations and personnel, as well as in the scope of their mandates. We share the Secretary-General's concern about the need for Member States to make the necessary resources available.

Austria, one of the largest troop-contributors over the years, is willing to increase its contribution, both for traditional tasks, in the form of providing military personnel, and for new tasks, in the form of assisting difficult transition processes, through the dispatch of civilian police, administrators and monitors of democracy. We have initiated a programme of meetings and seminars on inter-ethnic peace-keeping and training for peace-keeping, peace-making and conflict-prevention. Austria is now organizing a seminar on assisting and monitoring elections, with the aim of training officials for participation in future such United Nations missions.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

At a time of excessive demands on limited United Nations resources and of the increasing political importance of regional arrangements, the Secretary-General's innovative approach of intensifying cooperation and coordination with regional organizations should be wholeheartedly pursued. Strengthening the bonds between the United Nations Secretariat and the relevant regional bodies calls for continuous contact and communication.

In Europe the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) recently constituted itself a "regional arrangement" for matters of collective security, in conformity with the Charter. Its Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Centre will play an important role in future CSCE peace-keeping operations. The negotiations in Vienna within the framework of the CSCE Forum for Security Cooperation are particularly important for the development of confidence and for security-building and disarmament. In view of the proximity of the CSCE Secretariat in Prague and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, both the United Nations and the CSCE would greatly benefit from the creation in Vienna of a mechanism for liaison between the European regional arrangements and the United Nations Secretariat. Such an institution, a foundation of peace-keeping operations, could make the combined efforts of all organizations more effective.

At a time of limited resources it seems necessary for the Organization to make full use of all the facilities at its disposal world wide. Decentralization of the Secretariat must be seen as an asset for the Organization.

No conflict illustrates more dramatically the utmost urgency of the need for implementation of the Secretary-General's proposals with regard to the continuing aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a State

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Member of our Organization. The most fundamental principles on which the Charter is based are challenged: collective security, the non-use of force against territorial integrity and political independence, inviolability of borders, the rule of law, democracy, fundamental freedoms and human rights especially minority rights.

In this regard, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a test case. If today aggression and "ethnic cleansing" are permitted there, tomorrow they may work in Sandzak, Kosovo, Vojvodina and Macedonia, and even in other parts of the world. The consequences would be unimaginable.

Certainly, the international community has reacted to this aggression, to the atrocities and to the needs of the victims. Both the CSCE and the Security Council have clearly stated in various declarations and resolutions the responsibility of the Serbian Government for these acts and have demanded that they be borught to an immediate end. Cease-fires have been brokered, crucial humanitarian assistance has been organized, sanctions have been imposed and a political framework for a resolution of the conflict has been created.

We owe a special tribute to all those courageous men who participate at enormous personal risk in the peace-keeping operations. We deeply regret the loss of human lives that has already occurred. It goes without saying that attacks against peace-keeping forces warrant our utmost condemnation, whether or not we know who might be responsible for such atrocious acts.

During the last year many forums and organizations have adopted important declarations and resolutions dealing with this crisis. The London Conference produced a comprehensive plan of action, which could serve as a basis for a settlement. But have these plans and resolutions been implemented? What is

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needed is pressure, serious pressure, to make the aggressor desist from his acts in flagrant violation of international law - in particular, humanitarian law and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. We must effectively rule out any possibility of not complying with the political commitments undertaken in London. This holds true for all the parties involved. The longer the conflict lasts, the greater the danger of violation of the most basic standards of human rights.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

In the context of this and other conflicts we should heed the Secretary-General, who on a general basis commends Article 42 of the Charter to the attention of all States; he says that under this Article

"... the Security Council has the authority to take military action to maintain or restore international peace and security." (A/47/277, para. 43)

Certainly, all peaceful means have to be employed to solve a conflict, but if they prove to be of no avail, and in the case of clear, gross violations of fundamental principles of the Charter, full application of all the Charter's provisions must be envisaged. That is the core and essence of a functioning system of collective security.

The disappearance of the East-West confrontation that paralyses our Organization for so long gives us the chance to resurrect this system of collective security as envisaged by the founding fathers of the Organization. For the sake of mankind in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West of our globe we must not miss this chance.

The objective fact of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia has been established in the convincing legal opinion handed down by the arbitration commission, chaired by President Robert Badinter. Consequently, Austria, along with many other countries, favours termination of the membership of "Yugoslavia" in all international organizations. We welcome the admission of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations. Ultimately all the successor States, including Serbia and Montenegro, have the right to be admitted as Members, provided that they comply with the established obligations of the Charter. Once the criteria established for the

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

successor States of the former Yugoslavia by the Charter of Paris and by the peace conference have been met, the conditions will be in place for the admission of that State to the United Nations. We will continue to judge the real willingness of the authorities in Belgrade and other Serbian forces to honour their commitments and international obligations not by their words but by their actions.

The international community will have to act most vigorously to oppose effectively the intolerable practice of "ethnic cleansing". I welcome the decisions of the Security Council, which has taken steps towards the establishment of security zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina to contain the mass expulsions, to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and to secure the functioning of the legitimate Government. We must continue to work in this direction. The establishment of a no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina, as proposed by France, would supplement that measure and end the air attacks by the Serbian air force.

The horrible effects of "ethnic cleansing" will have to be reversed. The aggressor cannot be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his aggression. The international community will have to do more than care for refugees and displaced persons: our goal must be to create conditions which would allow those who were expelled or displaced to return to their homes and to regain their belongings or be compensated for property destroyed.

Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a hero of the liberation of Central and Eastern Europe, submitted, in his capacity as Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, a report containing a number of proposals, which should be implemented as quickly as possible. I am thinking of the immediate necessity

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to disarm irregular armed forces and civilians, and the expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to be able to collect information on human rights violations and to deal with them. Another of Mr. Mazowiecki's important ideas is the creation of an investigative commission to determine the fate of the thousands of missing persons.

At this point, let me express my firm conviction that ordinary people, both Serbs and Montenegrins, want prosperity and, first and foremost, peace. The abhorrent acts carried out under "ethnic cleansing", the torturing of innocent men and women in camps, the shelling of defenceless citizens: all these crimes are being ordered and carried out by individuals who cannot claim to act in the name of their people. Appropriate machinery must be established to enforce Security Council resolution 771 (1992) and to provide for proceedings against all individual perpetrators punishable under international law, such as by creating an international penal tribunal for war crimes.

Earlier this year the international fact-finding commission established under Additional Protocol I to the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of the Victims of Armed Conflicts became operational. This commission could also assume an important role to ensure the full implementation of the rules of international humanitarian law.

Today the former Yugoslavia is suffering from the horrible ravages of war. In a long-term perspective, economic recovery and concerted economic assistance will have to be a part of any peaceful solution for the region. Let me add here that Austria, long before the beginning of the process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, strongly advocated international assistance for

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

the economic development of our neighboring country through various European organizations in order to promote reform, prosperity and democracy. Then as now our actions were motivated by a deep-felt desire to support economic and political reform for the sake of the well-being of all peoples living in the Balkan region, to which Austria is bound by strong ties of history. That is why I feel that I must make an urgent appeal for the mobilization of further financial means to bolster the humanitarian assistance necessary for the survival of the suffering populations. There can be no doubt that, with good will on both sides, questions and tensions arising from the cohabitation of different ethnic groups in the same area can be resolved in a process of cooperation.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I am today in a position to inform the General Assembly of the resolution, through political dialogue, of the controversy between Austria and Italy concerning the protection of the Austrian population in South Tyrol. This dispute originated in the different interpretations of the agreement signed by the two countries on 5 September 1946 in Paris. The issue was then addressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI), in 1960 and 1961. On this basis, Austria and Italy reached agreement on a package of 137 measures designed to benefit the population of South Tyrol - measures that Italy pledged to enact. At the beginning of this year further legal measures were adopted. On 19 June the two countries were able to inform the Secretary-General that the dispute which had been pending with the United Nations since 1960 had been settled.

Austria and Italy have thus been able to provide the community of nations with a good example of how to resolve an ethnic conflict and how to guarantee and protect the rights and identities of minorities. The measures taken do indeed promise to provide a safe basis for the cultural, economic and social development of the German- and Ladin-speaking groups in South Tyrol, as they include sufficient legal safeguards at the national and international levels.

The resolution of this controversy was greatly facilitated by a positive development in the political attitudes of all the parties involved - in particular, by increased confidence between the State authorities and the ethnic groups. Although the protection of ethnic groups is clearly a dynamic process, the minority has to be assured that the Italian republic will respect its separate identity and will maintain the laws and regulations that have been created for the advancement of ethnic groups. Furthermore, the minority

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

must be assured that its cultural bonds, based on common ethnic affiliation beyond the Italian frontier, will not be impeded in the future. If such confidence exists, the State will secure the loyalty of the minority. Confidence will also create an atmosphere conducive to better and intensified cooperation across the borders.

Respect for human rights is a crucial requirement for the settlement of today's conflicts. The Austrian Government will take pride in hosting the World Conference on Human Rights to be convened in Vienna in June 1993. The invitation to host such an important event highlights Austria's dedication to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in other international human-rights instruments have undeniably become universal standards. It is imperative that all members of the international community fulfil their voluntarily accepted obligations to promote and respect human rights, humanitarian law and democratic values. Human rights, democracy and development are inextricably linked and are of the utmost importance in an increasingly interdependent world. We shall continue to promote a comprehensive concept of human rights based also on different cultural traditions and encompassing civil and political, as well as economic and social, rights. There must not be a new North-South divide in the interpretation and application of human rights. Our unitary world requires consensus on this vital issue. In preparing for the Vienna conference, we shall strive for such consensus. I can assure the Assembly that the Austrian Government will spare no effort to contribute substantially to the preparatory process and that it will provide excellent facilties for the Conference.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The Secretary-General has introduced the concept of an integrated approach by the United Nations to political, economic and social issues. Adequate economic and social development are prerequisites for international peace and security. The current and future status of the world social situation, the inclusion of vulnerable and socially disadvantaged groups in development, drug-abuse control and crime prevention rank high on the international agenda of an increasingly interdependent world. Peace and security are closely linked with economic and social development. We must take advantage of the end of the cold war to put more emphasis on issues of social and economic development.

As the Secretary-General has said, the convening of a well prepared world social summit will remove a key aspect of current threats to global security. This summit should concentrate on three concrete issues: poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. The Austrian Government supports such a social summit. Good governance as a result of sound economic management and comprehensive social and environmental policies, as well as respect for human rights and democratic values, should be the basic objective of political leadership.

While the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development did not fully succeed in producing a comprehensive Earth charter or a clear commitment to protection of the world's forests, the agreements reached at Rio do represent a positive achievement. We must all share responsibility for care of our planet, and the developed countries must take the lead. This realization should give rise to a new quality in North-South relations.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

At Rio it became apparent that, in the long term, environmental protection and economic prosperity cannot be achieved at each other's expense. Ecology and the economy are not intrinsic foes; for the sake of our common well-being, and for the sake of future generations, they need to become very close allies. After Rio it is impossible to speak of protection of the environment without also addressing the development challenge. Nor is it possible to focus on development without taking into account the ecological dimension.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Regarding the issue of international conflicts in the environmental sphere, I am very pleased to note that the Austrian proposal for the establishment of Green Helmets, submitted during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, has been favourably received. That Austrian initiative is reflected by the machinery provided for in the main Rio documents for preventing and settling such disputes.

Rio demonstrated that the global problems of mankind cannot be solved by governments alone. Hence Austria welcomes the mobilization and the manifold contributions of the non-governmental organizations and the media. This level of involvement of groups and individuals must continue.

The end of the East-West conflict and the growing awareness of the interdependence between North and South are leading to a new era for mankind. Regional cooperation offers new dimensions. There is a keen desire for preventive diplomacy. The resolution of ethnic conflicts is one of the greatest challenges of our time. Awareness of the interrelationship between development, environmental protection and the guaranteeing of human rights in the broadest sense of the term are on the increase. Let us work together to take advantage of all these opportunities.

Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco on your election as President of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your presiding over our deliberations will yield the best of results.

I should like to assure you of our full cooperation so as to facilitate your mission and render successful your endeavour, bearing in mind the

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

importance of the items on our agenda in these critical times and taking into account the good relations that exist between our two countries.

I should like to commend your predecessor, Mr. Shihabi, Permanent Representative of the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, for the wise manner in which he conducted the work of our last session at a time of grave crises and rapid developments.

I am also pleased to welcome the new Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and wish to extend to him our highest regard and assure him of our support for the tireless efforts he has exerted since he assumed his new post at the beginning of this year. We should also like to commend him for the brilliant work entitled "Agenda for Peace", which he submitted to the Security Council for its consideration and which our Assembly will have to reflect upon in the coming days.

I also wish to pay tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, former Secretary-General of our Organization, and to commend the praiseworthy efforts and successful initiatives he undertook throughout his 10 years in office as Head of the United Nations. Thanks to his wise and skilful handling of disputes between Member States, Mr. Perez de Cuellar earned the sympathy, esteem and cooperation of all. The sensitivity and caring he showed toward the developing countries in defending their rights and interests is highly appreciated.

I am also pleased to welcome the delegations of the friendly countries that, in recent months, have become Members of the United Nations. Morocco was among the first countries to extend its recognition to those States, and I am pleased to greet the representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. We hope that these countries will make progress, be successful and enter into an era of peace and security so as to allow the international community to benefit from their political, intellectual and economic capabilities.

The events of the last two years produced radical changes that have put paid to one era in the history of international relations and ushered in a new one, which we are still trying to come to grips with. The ideological, political and economic gap between East from West has disappeared with the ending of the cold war and the emergence of a group of newly independent states which are trying to find a foothold in the international arena. In the meantime, the other States of the world, large and small, are trying to reassess their positions in the new and unclear political equation of the world.

At the same time, attempts are being made to create a new world order of unclear outlines and unknown objectives.

Nevertheless, upon reflecting on what is being said from time to time regarding these attempts, one can surmise that the new world order might be based on the principles of democracy, a market economy and respect for human rights.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

These are principles which, we believe, are quintessentially positive. However, we have certain queries regarding the terms of their application and their real content. Indeed, the world is made up of States and peoples whose political, economic and economic stages of development vary and whose material conditions, natural resources and cultures are vastly different. This fact leaves no room for a mechanical application of the aforementioned principles.

Systems that may be appropriate for a developed rich country may not necessarily be suitable for a developing third world country without proper adjustment to its particular circumstances or the assurance that the application of such principle would be beneficial in its case.

We fully support scrupulous respect for human rights and believe that no one with any common sense can deny such rights. We believe that human rights issues, in their political context based on respect for individual liberties and the rule of law, will inevitably prevail.

In other words, the social and economic aspects of human rights are of far-reaching importance and should be carefully addressed by every State. It is regrettable, however, that the developing countries cannot fully control their economic issues in today's circumstances. Recent economic trends have integrated the economies of all countries into one global entity. That is why the recession that recently hit the economies of some developed countries has had a negative and harmful impact on the economies of the developing world. It has aggravated their debt burdens, reduced the prices of their basic commodities, and compounded their economic and social problems.

The integration of local economies in a global framework and the interdependence of societies and interests underline the need for a global dialogue in which we can all engage before a just and equitable new world order can be established.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

It is no longer feasible to exclude the overwhelming majority of States from the participation in the decision-making process in relation to issues that affect the entire international community on the political, economic, and social levels.

We believe that the United Nations is the best forum in which to conduct such a dialogue with a view to laying the foundations of what the Secretary-General, in his latest report on the work of the Organization, called an international partnership for development based on the principles of equity, sovereignty, common interest, and mutual responsibility.

Without such dialogue, it would be difficult if not impossible to ensure the stability of the world economy or to alleviate the difficulties facing the developing countries. Starvation, debt burden, shortages of economic and social needs, and the illegal immigration of the unemployed to the developed world would remain hardships afflicting not only the countries of the South but the countries of the North as well.

In saying this, we do not wish to engage in any negative diatribes of criticism or accusations. We simply want to highlight certain facts that should not be forgotten at a time when numerous signs indicate that the formulation of a new world order is at hand. In other words, the North and the South are today linked by mutual interests more than ever before, and should therefore shoulder their shared responsibilities in a world that is undergoing profound changes.

It is in this spirit that we have invited our partners in the European Community to reconsider the traditional approach to their cooperation with Morocco. The understanding with which they have received this proposal is a source of special satisfaction to us. Morocco has long enjoyed a special relationship with the European Community, the framework of which has been made

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

redundant by current and future stakes. Consequently, we are happy that both parties are now convinced that it is in their mutual interest to carry out qualitative and radical changes in their relations through the establishment of a free-trade zone and a partnership in various fields. We look forward to the extension of this kind of positive cooperation to relations between the European Community and the other members of the Arab Maghreb Union so as to open new prospects for a more balanced and beneficial relationship.

The dialogue initiated between the States of South-Western European and the States of the Arab Maghreb Union was an encouraging start in which a climate of mutual understanding prevailed. A series of principles were laid down with a view to enhancing cooperation between the two shores of the Western Mediterranean basin, where traditions of close historical ties have existed for centuries in various fields. We therefore hope that the Five plus Five Group will soon be able to overcome the present obstacles and to resume its dialogue, which we believe will contribute positively to the consolidation of the foundations of stability and cooperation in the region.

Morocco firmly believes that the establishment of the emergence of the Arab Maghreb is inevitable and that its setting up on sound and solid foundations is more than necessary and beneficial to the countries of that region, the Mediterranean, and the entire world. This is a conviction that is shared by all peoples of the Maghreb, linked as they are by history, religion, language, and culture.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

To be sure, the Maghreb Arab Union encountered some obstacles at the outset, as has been the experience of others in similar circumstances. However, we are determined to overcome such obstacles and to move forward with a view to implementing the agreed principles and, in particular, to bring about the economic integration which would revitalize the economies of our countries and reinforce the foundations of our development.

Not far away from the Arab Maghreb, the Middle East region continues to be in the grip of tensions which have persisted for over 40 years, as a result of the Palestinian question and the attendant Middle East crisis. However, our consideration of this question at this session is accompanied by certain favourable indications as it takes place in the wake of the ever face-to-face meeting between Arabs and Israelis, in Madrid in 1991, and the subsequent meetings of the parties to the conflict, with participation by the States involved.

We welcome this tendency. Morocco has always advocated dialogue, in the conviction that there can be no peace without it. It was in this spirit that Morocco took several initiatives towards that end, both at the Arab summit meetings it hosted and at other international forums.

Although the process that was initiated at the Madrid Conference has run into a number of difficulties, recent political changes in Israel are encouraging indications with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the land-for-peace principle, as a basis for a settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The very fact that dialogue has been initiated is a positive and constructive step which, we hope, will lead to the implementation of the aforementioned principles and thus make it possible to achieve progress towards the desired equitable and definitive solution to these problems.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Henceforth, the peoples of the region, who have for too long suffered the vicissitudes of colonialism, instability and cold war will be able, like other peoples of the world, to enjoy a new era of cooperation and prosperity.

Another source of concern is the continued state of tension in the Gulf region in the wake of the Gulf war which has left deep scars in the Arab world. We understand the bitterness engendered by that war, just as we appreciate the sensitivities of the peoples and officials in the region because of the tragedies that afflicted them. We also realize the gravity of the decisions which have left the Arab world torn asunder.

However, we are convinced that the wisdom and far-sightedness of our bretheren will prevail, and that reason will overcome passion in order to allow outstanding problems to be solved and the Arab world to return to solidarity, cooperation and understanding. In this regard, the Kingdom of Morocco, as is its custom, is engaged in sustained efforts to unify Arab ranks and to seek common positions.

The events of the past few years in Europe have diverted world attention from the situation in Africa. Thus, a whole continent has been forgotten and marginalized, regardless of its deepening economic crisis, the aggravation of its foreign debt problems and the collapsing prices of its export raw materials. It is regrettable to note that the special session of the General Assembly in 1986 devoted to the economic situation in Africa has not helped the African economies, which since them have noticeably deteriorated.

It is equally regrettable that the aid provided to Africa by the developed countries has been limited to meagre humanitarian aid to the victimes of natural disasters and other endemic scourges such as famine and drought. The African economic crisis is cause for great concern, as stressed by the Secretary-General, in his latest report on the activities of the

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Organization (A/47/1). We believe it is the duty of the developed countries to pay particular attention to the problems of development in Africa with a view to rebuilding the foundations of the African economy through a special programme that should be set up for taht purpose as has been done recently in the case of Central and Eastern Europe.

Morocco, which has always paid particular attention to the problems of our continent, remains faithful to the bonds of brotherhood, friendship and solidarity which bind us to our sisterly African countries. In this context, Morocco wishes to reaffirm its solidarity with the states of Africa, which have been adversely affected and would recall that, despite the difficulties of the Moroccan economy, it earmarks 95 per cent of its international cooperation budget to the assistance of brotherly African peoples.

While we welcome the imminent end to a number of African political crises, we are still concerned by the persistence of hotbeds of tension caused by internal problems and by civil wars and their tragic consequences.

My country welcomes the recent developments in Angola which have led to a process of accommodation under United Nations auspices following the signature of an agreement between the parties to the conflict. Therefore, Morocco has contributed a national contingent to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, and hopes that the implementation of this agreement will help re-establish peace and harmony in this friendly country.

The international community has been shocked by the Somali tragedy, which is unprecedented in the annals of history. The civil war and tribal rivalries have effectively torn that country apart, destroyed its institutions and its economy and have led to utter anarchy. Furthermore, they have caused a famine that has resulted in thousands of deaths, mainly amongst the very young and the very old.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

We are grateful to all those who send humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia and welcome the decision by the Security Council to dispatch the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) to monitor the situation and coordinate the distribution of humanitarian assistance. We appeal to the international community to continue to send such assistance to this afflicted people.

As for South Africa, we have noted with satisfaction the resumption of the dialogue between the Government of Pretoria and the African National Congress (ANC) despite the recurrence of violence and actions of reprisal among brothers. We urge all parties to stop the violence and to show the spirit of tolerance and sense of responsibility which, in the past two years, have helped to overcome many an obstacle. We also hope that the continuation of dialogue on constitutional reforms will lead rapidly to the abolition of apartheid and to the emergence of a multi-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

Since the end of the cold war, rising extremism, nationalism and ethnic conflicts in some parts of the world have created hotbeds of tension and violence, the most dangerous of which is Bosnia-Herzegovina. Massacres, the mass killing of innocent people, the terrorization of children and elderly people, the incarceration of civilians in concentration camps and the so-called "ethnic cleansing" perpetrated by the Serbian forces are heinous crimes that offend our conscience and are a setback to the international efforts aimed at the elimination of practices which, we thought, had become things of the past.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco strongly condemns those acts and calls upon the international community to stand by the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina in preserving their national unity, independence, territorial integrity and cultural identity by resorting to all the coercive measures provided for in the United Nations Charter to force compliance with its decisions on this issue.

The recent recommendation of the Security Council to the General Assembly regarding the succession of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be understood by the two republics of Serbia and Montenegro as notice served on them that they should behave as members of the international community, cooperate fully with the United Nations and desist from their heinous practices and unacceptable behaviour.

This year, Morocco has assumed its seat as a non-permanent Member of the Security Council. This happened at a very important juncture, when the tasks and responsibilities of that organ have increased substantially.

Morocco, being an Arab and an African nation, spares no effort in coordination with the countries of the two groups in bringing the sensitivities of both groups to the deliberations of the Council. In so doing, Morocco is guided by the desire to give precedence to the logic of dialogue, understanding and persuasion in trying to achieve the best solutions.

The historic events which have taken place over the past year and altered the course of international relations have prompted the Members of the Security Council to hold a high-level summit meeting on 31 January 1992 in order to consider the important developments that have taken place on the international scene, to define new priorities for the international community and to devise a strategy aimed at revitalizing the role of the United Nations and reinforcing its effectiveness.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco, represented by His Majesty King Hassan II, took part, along with other leaders of the Members of the Security Council in that high-level meeting. On that occasion, they reiterated their determination to uphold the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law as well as their commitment to the preservation of international peace and security, to disarmament and arms control, and to economic and social development.

My country wishes to commend the increasing role of our Organization in peace-keeping operations. That role is reflected in the many successful operations carried out recently throughout the world, operations in which United Nations forces have been able to effect disengagement, stop hostilities and bloodshed and protect people and property.

On the basis of the Paris Agreement signed by all parties and endorsed by the Security Council, we hope that United Nations efforts in Cambodia, where the United Nations has mounted the largest and most ambitious peace-keeping operation in its history, will lead to a lasting peace in that country.

Morocco takes pride in its participation in the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Angola, Cambodia and Somalia, pride which is equalled only by its commitment to fulfil its international duties and its strong belief in the role of our Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security.

In spite of these accomplishments, we believe that some aspects of our Organization need to be reformed if we are to make the United Nations more effective in serving the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of its Member States and to regain the desired balance between its organs.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

In this regard, it is inconceivable that while we commend the increasing role of the United Nations in preserving international peace and security, our Organization remains inadequately funded for the achievement of that objective.

In his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General made substantive proposals and recommendations, in particular on preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building efforts. We firmly believe that those recommendations deserve careful consideration by the different organs of our Organization with a view to their adoption and implementation.*

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* Mr. Rogers (Belize), Vice-President, tcok the Chair.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The setting up of a new world order requires a new reading of the provisions of the Charter - a Charter which was written in 1945 under circumstances which differed completely from the situation in 1992. Indeed, the number of Member States has increased from 51 in 1945 to 179 Member States today. The political map of the world has underwent radical changes and the centres of power shifted and international economic relations have become more complex.

The question of so-called Western Sahara has entered its final phase following the adoption of the United Nations peace plan in 1988 and following the establishment of the cease-fire in September 1991.

Since that time, the Security Council has given firm and complete support to the implementation by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative of the settlement plan and of the instructions devised for the organization of the United Nations referendum.

In spite of the numerous delays which interfered with the holding of the referendum - something which my country deplores - the Kingdom of Morocco has continued to adhere firmly to the settlement plan and to the commitments it has undertaken.

Moreover, as underlined by the Secretary-General in his report contained in document S/24464 of 20 August 1992, my country continues to extend its full cooperation to the establishment of the mechanisms envisaged and the implementation of the rules agreed upon with a view to organizing the referendum as soon as possible.

In this context, Morocco hopes that realism will prevail over obstructionism and procrastination.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Following the progress achieved recently in disarmament and the increased awareness of the international community of environmental issues following the Earth Summit in Rio this year, we should like to express our hope that those positive indications will be consolidated by yet another success. We hope that this will be the start of a process that will rid humanity of the ills that beset it in this, the last decade of the twentieth century.

We believe that our Organization should be the catalyst that directs all efforts towards the achievement of such goals. In so doing, we will pave the way for the generation of the next century to live in a world which is worthy of mankind: a haven of peace, tranquillity and prosperity.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like once more to draw the attention of Members to document A/47/456 containing a letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the President of the Security Council and to document A/47/L.1 containing a draft resolution entitled "Recommendation of the Security Council of 19 September 1992" which are being circulated under agenda item 8 (Adoption of the agenda and organization of work). In this connection the General Assembly will take up agenda item 8 tomorrow evening, after we hear the last speaker in the general debate for that day.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.